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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Saturday, 2 March 1991, at 8.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. HOHENFELLNER	(Austria)
Members:	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ANET
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. BLANC
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Romania	Mr. MUNTEANU
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PICKERING
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 8.45 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: As this is the first public meeting of the Security Council for the month of March, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Simbarashe Simbaneduku Mumbengegwi, Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of February 1991. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Mumbengegwi for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Iraq and Kuwait in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Anbari (Iraq) and Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) took places at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/22298,

(The President)

which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United States of America. Belgium, France, Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Zaire have joined as sponsors of the draft resolution in document S/22298. Members of the Council have before them in documents S/22300 to S/22317: amendments submitted by Cuba to the draft resolution contained in document S/22298.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): First, I want to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the new ruling you have introduced, dispensing with congratulations to the President and promising to thank the former President on behalf of the Council.

It is my pleasure on behalf of the sponsors to present a number of oral revisions to the draft resolution which I understand are generally agreeable to members of the Council.

In operative paragraph 2 (b), first line, after the word "liability", we have decided to add the words "under international law". The paragraph would then read: "Accept in principle its liability under international law for any loss," and so forth.

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

The second revision is in operative paragraph 3 (a), second line: to delete the words "and other parties".

The third revision is in operative paragraph 3 (d), at the end of the paragraph: to delete the word "Gulf", substituting for it the words "adjacent waters".

The fourth revision, in operative paragraph 5, second line, following the words "to commence", is to add the word "immediately". It would then read: "... to provide access and to commence immediately the release of Iraqi prisoners of war" and so forth.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. In accordance with your own wishes, I shall not expatiate further. At the same time, my delegation would like to say that we fully associate ourselves with the expressions of gratitude conveyed to your predecessor this morning. Those expressions were so eloquent and specific that I could not hope to equal them.

My delegation would like to submit to the Council a series of proposed amendments (S/22300 to S/22317) to the draft resolution submitted by the United States of America.

I should simply like to say that the amendments are self-explanatory. They seek to ensure that the Council is able to establish a cease-fire and that it will fully assume its responsibility for the way in which that cease-fire is implemented and for the other steps to be taken to restore international peace and security in the region. Other amendments aim simply at adjusting the language of the draft resolution submitted to us in order to ensure that it at least regains a sense of balance and moderation, which at this point a text of this nature should contain.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cuba for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/22298, as orally revised by the United States on behalf of the sponsors, and the proposed amendments contained in documents S/22300 to S/22317. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Members of the Council have before them amendments submitted by Cuba in documents S/22300 to S/22317. Rule 36 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure states the following:

> "If two or more amendments to a motion or draft resolution are proposed, the President shall rule on the order in which they are to be voted upon. Ordinarily, the Security Council shall first vote on the amendment furthest removed in substance from the original proposal and then on the amendment next furthest removed until all amendments have been put to the vote, but when an amendment adds to or deletes from the text of a motion or draft resolution, that amendment shall be voted on first."

Accordingly, I intend to put the amendments to the vote in the following order: S/22300, S/22301, S/22302, S/22304, S/22310, S/22311, S/22312, S/22317, S/22305, S/22315, S/22306, S/22307, S/22308, S/22309, S/22314, S/22313, S/22303 and S/22316.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting on the amendments.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): In the opinion of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document S/22298, the profusion of amendments submitted by the delegation of Cuba is not helpful. Both the number and the form of the amendments lead us to believe that the text is not improved by them. Since we regard the text in its current form as effective, balanced and appropriate, it is our intention not to support these amendments.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22300.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Yemen

Against: Austria

Abstaining: Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 2 votes in favour, 1 against and 12 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22301.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 1 vote in favour, none against and 14 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

(The President)

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22302.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Yemen

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 2 votes in favour, none against and 13 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22304.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 1 vote in favour, none against and 14 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22310.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Cuba, Ecuador, India, Yemen, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, France, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 6 votes in favour, none against and 9 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22311.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Yemen

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 2 votes in favour, none against and 13 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22312.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, Cuba, Yemen

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 3 votes in favour, none against and 12 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22317.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Yemen

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 2 votes in favour, none against and 13 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22305.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Yemen

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 2 votes in favour, none against and 13 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

(The President)

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22315.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Yemen

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 2 votes in favour, none against and 13 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22306.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Yemen

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 2 votes in favour, none against and 13 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Yemen): I wonder if we need to vote on the amendment contained in document S/22307, as its language is dependent upon that of the amendment contained in document S/22306. I think the representative of Cuba might wish to withdraw the amendment in document S/22307, since the amendment that would have called for a cease-fire has not been adopted.

Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): I am not withdrawing it, but since it is connected with the amendment just rejected, the suggestion made by the representative of Yemen that the Council not vote on it seems logical.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): May I take it that the representative of Cuba is withdrawing the draft resolution he has put forward for tomorrow, which contains the same phrase?

The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22308.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Yemen

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 2 votes in favour, none against and 13 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22309.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Yemen

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 2 votes in favour, none against and 13 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22314.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Ecuador, India, Yemen, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, France, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 5 votes in favour, none against and 10 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22313.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Yemen

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 2 votes in favour, none against and 13 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

(The President)

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22303.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Ecuador, India, Yemen

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, France, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 4 votes in favour, none against and 11 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

I shall now put to the vote the amendment contained in document S/22316.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Cuba, Ecuador, India, Yemen, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, France, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 5 votes in favour, none against and 10 abstentions. The amendment has not been adopted, it having failed to obtain the required number of votes.

Before putting the draft resolution contained in document S/22298, as orally revised, to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Customs and traditions die hard, and I am sure that, even though we wish to save time, members will be unable to discontinue the custom of extending greetings and congratulations to the President. I cannot fail, Sir, to convey to you my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month, and to express our confidence in your ability, your expertise and your well known diplomatic skill.

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

I cannot fail also to express our deep appreciation to your predecessor, the Ambassador of Zimbabwe, and to praise him for his acumen, wisdom and ability.

The Council meets today, fortunately after the suspension of hostilities during the Gulf war. It is meeting after Kuwait restored its sovereignty and independence and resolution 660 (1990) has been observed. There is no doubt that this is a new, clean chapter in the history of the Council which, throughout its resolutions and decisions, has been able to carry out resolution 660 (1990). Since the first day, the delegation of Yemen has called for upholding the basic principles that reject occupation and for the withdrawal of troops and the affirmation of independence and sovereignty of all countries, including the State of Kuwait.

Today we meet after Iraq has committed itself to accepting all the Security Council resolutions, and we hope that all countries will follow suit, especially those that are located in crisis areas of the world, especially in the Middle East - to be frank, Israel.

We begin a new phase in the history of this crisis: it is the beginning of the end of the crisis which has preoccupied the world for seven months and led to such devastation, claiming the lives of tens of thousands - military and civilian, Iraqi and American, Arab and non-Arab.

The draft resolution now before us represents a first step towards ensuring a quick and decisive end to acts of aggression. Therefore, we see in it some positive aspects that cannot be overlooked. First, with regard to humanitarian aspects, concern is expressed for providing care for the prisoners of war on all sides. Naturally, the Council must seek measures to set them free. In this regard, I refer to paragraphs 2 (c) and 3 (c) and paragraph 5. We hope that all prisoners of war and also the detainees will soon be able to enjoy their freedom and return to their families as soon as possible.

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

There are also paragraphs dealing with military matters, and we think they might be of help in easing the crisis and facilitating a start in establishing peace in the region. In this regard, I refer to paragraph 3 (b), relating to the meeting of military commanders tomorrow, and to paragraph 3 (d), which refers to the removal of mines, thus securing the region for the next steps.

There is also a political aspect, in paragraph 2 (a), pertaining to the rescinding of the actions purporting to annex Kuwait, in keeping with Security Council resolution 662 (1990).

In our view, those positive aspects can contribute to the beginning of a final, peaceful diplomatic solution to this crisis.

On the other hand, we note that the draft resolution is deficient in many respects. It could have tackled other aspects of the crisis, thus expediting a solution to other crisis situations. Among the many deficiencies - which are indeed important - is the fact that the draft resolution does not call for a cease-fire. As we know, there is a suspension of hostilities at the present time but there is no official cease-fire. We had hoped that the draft resolution would call for a cease-fire, especially since there are some arrangements relating to the release of prisoners of war and the removal of mines. Such measures usually accompany a cease-fire. It is strange that the draft resolution does not mention a cease-fire, and this shows the extent of the strictness at this early phase of the last chapter of this crisis.

Secondly, the draft resolution does not mention the end of the embargo against Iraq, particularly as regards food. This is very cruel.

When the Council adopted resolution 661 (1990) and imposed a stringent embargo regime against Iraq and then occupied Kuwait, it was because it was believed that the sanctions would lead to Iraq's withdrawal and implementation of resolution

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

660 (1990). There has already been war and Iraqi installations have been severely damaged, especially civilian installations such as those for electricity and water and those pertaining to the economic infrastructure that concern the life of civilians; and tens of thousands have been killed, not to mention the other casualties.

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

After all this, the people of Iraq, including civilians and military personnel, are enduring enormous sufferings. That is why we find it strange that the draft resolution does not include a reference to the end of the embargo on food. This is a very cruel feature, which cannot be justified on political grounds. It has nothing to do with the regime or with military institutions; it relates strictly to civilians. We listened with admiration to the statement of President Bush in which he expressed the great concern of the United States in regard, particularly, to children and the humanitarian and health aspects of such situations. We believe the draft resolution should have included a paragraph providing for the end of this embargo, to reduce the suffering of children and other vulnerable groups of society.

Thirdly, we would have thought that the draft resolution would attribute a major role - or even a humble role - to the United Nations or its Secretary-General, particularly at this early phase of the ending of the crisis. We had expected the draft resolution to include a reference to the presence of United Nations representatives at the meeting tomorrow, and also to a United Nations presence that could at least be ready for the forthcoming phases in the strengthening of the cease-fire and the maintenance of peace. Unfortunately, however, there was clear opposition to such a reference. I am happy that many delegations here voted in favour of the Cuban amendments that referred to this aspect.

Fourthly, the draft resolution does not refer in any way to the withdrawal of the alliance troops that are now on Iraqi territory. There are a large number of such troops and they now dominate a large number of positions. Yet they are not referred to at all in this important draft resolution. From the very beginning we opposed and rejected the use of force, and we now oppose the continued presence of

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

foreign troops in Iraq against its wishes and without a decision by the Iraqis. We hope that this subject will be dealt with in the first of the draft resolutions to be considered in the future. We hope, too, that those troops will be withdrawn from Iraq as soon as possible.

Fifthly, paragraph 4 of the draft resolution relates to the continued use of force. Although we heard during the informal meeting that such force would be used only for specific purposes, we find it strange that there is still talk about the use of force now that Iraqi troops have been completely withdrawn from Kuwait and the purposes of resolution 660 (1990) have been implemented. We were told that force would be used only for the secondary reasons indicated in the resolution. But how can force be used in connection with a difference about legal questions, or if Iraq does not live up to one of the paragraphs of the resolution? Does this mean that force will be used to compel Iraq to implement such a paragraph? We find this absolutely excessive and against the spirit of the United Nations resolutions. It serves only the objectives of specific countries.

Today we are ending a dark chapter in the history of the Arab nation and also at the international level. We hope that this will mark the beginning of the establishment of a just and stable security system in our region, based on respect, justice and balance. The Security Council has every right to be proud of the almost literal implementation of its resolution. But the Council should start immediately, without any delay, to ensure the implementation of the other resolutions relating to other disputes, particularly the Arab-Israeli conflict. If it does not do that, it could be concluded that the United Nations has been used in one particular case because it has served the interests of some countries. We therefore hope that the Council will continue to work at the same level and at the same pace in adopting the resolutions necessary to implement all the other resolutions still before it.

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

As for us in Yemen, we shall immediately proceed to pursue the aims we stated at the beginning of the crisis. From the very beginning, we called for a solution of this crisis by peaceful means. We called also for benevolence and co-operation. We called for work within the framework of the League of Arab States, our regional organization. We shall continue to seek the fulfilment of the same aims.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Yemen for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): We are now involved in the voting process on the draft resolution in document S/22298. But 24 hours have not elapsed since its first and official presentation to the non-permanent members of this body. My delegation does not claim to abide by this rule of courtesy, behind which our colleagues frequently shield themselves when draft resolutions are involved. I simply wish note to be taken of this fact.

The Council has enabled the representatives of the press and public opinion to be present here to follow our work directly, which we welcome.

The point is not that we are voting on this resolution 24 hours after its presentation; the point is that we could have done so yesterday, had we received the text. But that did not happen, and it was the first attempt by those who have once again convened the Council as a matter of urgency, again remembering what happened last year, and forgetting the calm and modesty that have been evinced on other topics - and with regard to this topic from last November up until just a few hours ago.

My delegation must say we reject attempts to deal with the Security Council as if it were a prisoner. We do not want always to act in an atmosphere of alarm with the discipline and obedience expected of children. If we did not vote on this draft resolution last night, as at one time we were told we would, it was simply because some generals were to meet today. Certainly we must thank those generals and military personnel for having postponed their meeting until tomorrow. Hence, just by chance, there has arisen this opportunity to put it to the vote just 24 hours after its initial appearance.

My delegation will vote against this draft resolution because we deem it to be another step along the path towards conduct we consider would constitute a violation of the United Nations Charter. This draft resolution is a continuation

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

and derivation of resolution 678 (1990), which will remain in the annals of this Organization as a moment of shame when the Security Council abdicated its fundamental obligation. It cannot relinquish that obligation unless we are agreeing that the Council commit suicide. It is the Security Council's obligation to preserve international peace and security. That is an undeniable obligation that cannot be relinquished or ignored. Nor can the Council authorize others to do so without any monitoring, without authority, without supervision of some kind by it.

I do not wish to state the psychological reasons for this, but the text submitted to us thrice reiterates with almost sick emphasis that resolution 678 (1990) remains in effect and the provisions set forth by the Security Council, which relinquish its fundamental obligation, remain in effect. We should not just recall the other resolutions in the first preambular paragraph; we should reaffirm them.

The first operative paragraph says that "all 12 resolutions noted above continue to have full force and effect". Then, as if the reader had still not understood, paragraph 4 states "the provisions of paragraph 2 of resolution 678 (1990) remain valid".

In a previous version of the text, the meaning of the language of paragraph 4 was somewhat less hidden. But in any case, in our view, the consequences are clear enough. Having ended the illegal Iraqi occupation of the territory of Kuwait, and having ensured that it will regain its independence and territorial sovereignty, the Security Council must apparently once again relinquish its obligations and place them on the shoulders of some States in language that can be used for any purpose the generals decide upon.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

This resolution does not - as the Security Council is obliged to do - establish a cease-fire. Rather, it establishes conditions that are prerequisites to ensuring that a cease-fire will take place along with a cessation of hostilities in the zone. It does so in a way that may in fact increase tensions and complicate a situation that is already quite complex. It gives the United Nations no functions - nor the Security Council, nor the Secretary-General. One must ask oneself why it has been brought here. So that the trumpets can be sounded? So that it could be adopted last night? Why, unless it was some kind of strategy devised to be used quite far from this Chamber? It is not a naïve effort to reaffirm the responsibility of this Organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Morever, some parts of this text appear to be designed to justify the military occupation of the territory of Iraq. My delegation rejects this.

This draft resolution would support the continuation of military activities perpetrated against that country not because the Council decided to do so, or monitors or supervises such activities. Neither the Council nor the United Nations can get into the theatre of operations; it is just a question of what the generals will decide. It seems they need the adoption of this text tonight very badly.

At a time when the Council relinquishes its privacy and decides to meet publicly, when in many places hopes arise for the cessation of the conflict, it would have been better for the Council to be able to evince magnanimity and a loftiness of spirit in truly moving forward towards a lasting solution of the conflict. Peace can be built neither with a derisory attitude nor with the arrogance of power, nor indeed with the intoxication that some seem to have acquired from the threat or use of force.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

My delegation regrets that the Council has on more than one occasion in the past been manipulated into following a course that, unfortunately, almost inevitably has led to military conflict and that it has then been studiously ignored and consigned to oblivion when war broke out in all its fury. This has made it extremely difficult for us to meet to consider any alternative solution to the conflict. Now, once again, we are convened - not to halt hostilities, not to lay down true foundations for peace, not to ensure that the United Nations is in a position to play an active and constructive role in settling the problems of the region, but, rather, to offer us another example of the desire on the part of some to continue to use the Organization for their own purposes, thereby displaying contempt for this institution and humiliating it.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): Mr. President, the Security Council will be taking momentous and difficult decisions during the month of March. Zimbabwe is most satisfied to see you presiding over the affairs of the Council at this critical juncture. You are an accomplished and seasoned diplomat who represents an important country that has consistently played a constructive role in international affairs, and particularly in this body entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. We could not, therefore, be in safer hands. I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude to you, and to my colleagues around the table who have spoken, for the kind and generous words addressed to me.

The silencing of guns in the Persian Gulf area is an important and most welcome event. Zimbabwe joins the Government and people of Kuwait and the peace-loving nations of the world in rejoicing over the liberation of Kuwait and the restoration of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

We feel that this is an appropriate occasion to pay a tribute to the international community for the unified action it took over the past seven months

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

in upholding the rule of law in relations among States. Zimbabwe also commends the Secretary-General for the unrelenting diplomatic work he carried out in an effort to avert the outbreak of hostilities, as well as for constantly drawing the attention of the international community to the humanitarian situation created by the crisis.

The Security Council is about to take an action on an important draft resolution. Zimbabwe regards this as an important first step in the process of normalizing the situation in the Persian Gulf and in the Middle East region as a whole. The thrust of the draft resolution before us is positive. Zimbabwe welcomes any step towards formalization and towards consolidating what is at present a fragile suspension of hostilities. We would have preferred the Security Council to formalize a cease-fire immediately. However, it is our understanding that the draft resolution now before us constitutes a necessary first step towards such formalization.

Zimbabwe welcomes the intention of the States cooperating with the Government of Kuwait to bring their military presence in Iraq to an early end, as expressed in the last preambular paragraph of the draft resolution before us. We also welcome the provisions that facilitate the rescission of the annexation of Kuwait.

The speedy normalization of the situation in post-war Kuwait and Iraq is set out in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution. However, it is Zimbabwe's hope that a situation will not arise in which operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution will be invoked to resume military operations in the area. Also, Zimbabwe would have preferred to have representatives of the Secretary-General present during the meeting of the military commanders to arrange the military aspects of the cessation of hostilities referred to in operative paragraph 3 (b) of the draft resolution.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

This is also an occasion when one cannot avoid thinking of the responsibilities of the Council with respect to other political problems of the region. Zimbabwe was pleased that in dealing with the situation between Iraq and Kuwait the Security Council acted with speed, resolve and single-mindedness and upheld its resolutions and international law. The international community now expects the Council consistently to maintain the same standards as it addresses the other issues in the Middle East, particularly with regard to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel.

History will have on record - and will, indeed, commend - the Council's actions in taking four days to impose economic sanctions and five months to take military measures against Iraq when it occupied Kuwait. But history will not forgive the Council for reneging on its responsibilities in other cases of occupation in the same region. For more than 23 years now Israel has occupied Palestine and other Arab territories in violation of international law and in defiance of numerous Security Council resolutions; yet the Security Council has taken no action against that occupying Power. The credibility and integrity of the Council will be greatly damaged and international law undermined if the Council continues to be perceived as inconsistent and as guilty of applying standards. It is Zimbabwe's view that now is the time for the Council to rectify this unacceptable situation.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document S/22298, as orally revised, to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Côte d'Ivoire, Ecuador, France, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

Against: Cuba

Abstaining: China, India, Yemen

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 11 votes in favour, 1 against and 3 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 686 (1991).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the vote.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): Resolution 686 (1991), which the Council has just adopted, signifies a watershed in its affairs. We are entering a new phase in the effort which began on 2 August last year to repel aggression and to restore peace to the Persian Gulf. This resolution turns our attention from a war we never wanted, from the tragedy precipitated by Iraq, to the greatest challenge of all: building lasting peace and security.

From the first hours after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the Security Council has been at the centre of the international community's response. The Council made clear that Iraq's aggression would not stand, it established the terms for resolving the crisis, and it imposed sanctions when its efforts at persuasion were rejected by Baghdad. The Security Council demonstrated in November both its

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

resolve to leave open all possibilities for a peaceful solution, and its readiness, after the pause of goodwill, to mandate the expulsion of Iraq by force from Kuwait.

Resolution 678 (1990) set the stage for intensive diplomatic efforts which proved as fruitless as those which preceded it. Almost every Government represented in this room and many outside it in one way or another engaged directly in trying to persuade Baghdad to comply with the Council's resolutions and warned of the calamity ahead if Saddam Hussein remained obdurate. And throughout, the Secretary-General worked with hope and determination, leading the world-wide effort to resolve the crisis peacefully, right up to his far-reaching constructive proposals of 15 January. But Iraq's intransigence led it to compound the catastrophe of the wanton destruction of Kuwait with the catastrophe of war. It is upon the heads of Saddam Hussein and the other leaders of Iraq that the responsibility for this so clearly rests.

Since the end of November and the adoption of resolution 678 (1990), the Council has focussed on its implementation. Now key goals it adopted have been achieved. Aggression has been beaten, firmly and decisively. Those who counted on the use of arms and the ultimate failure of the international community to respond have been beaten, firmly and decisively. They have brought dishonour and ruin to themselves. We are overjoyed that Kuwait is liberated and restored to its rightful place in the international community. We welcome this resolution's paragraphs recalling the appropriate part of resolution 661 (1990) signifying that sanctions are not imposed against Kuwait. We also welcome the immediate re-establishment of normal relations - diplomatic, economic and financial - with Kuwait, its people and its legitimate Government. Today, the Kuwaiti flag and the flags of Kuwait's friends fly again in Kuwait City. Together, today, we pledge ourselves to assist the people of Kuwait in the reconstruction of their ravaged country.

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

Now the Council turns its attention to the restoration of peace and security in the area, as resolution 678 (1990) recognized would be required. The present resolution points the way. We seek as soon as possible a definitive end to hostilities. This is the first priority. The resolution sets out the measures which Iraq must take and the arrangements which must be put in place to bring this about. Iraq has much to account for, and there is much yet to be done to fulfil the resolutions of the Council and the requirements of international law.

In this resolution, the Council puts forth the immediate requirements: Iraq must make clear that it no longer harbours aggressive intent, and it must take the steps needed immediately to implement the 12 United Nations Security Council resolutions. It must return immediately the prisoners of war. It must return the property it has stolen. It must release immediately all third-country nationals and detained Kuwaiti citizens. It must cease further military action, including any activities related to the missiles Iraq used to attack Saudi Arabia and Israel. It must return immediately the remains of those who died in the war or while held prisoner by Iraq. Iraq must assist the coalition in identifying the location of mines, booby traps, chemical and biological weapons. Until it is clear that Iraq has complied with these requirements, the provisions of resolution 678 (1990) authorizing Kuwait and those cooperating with Kuwait to use all necessary means to ensure Iraqi compliance with the United Nations resolutions clearly will remain in effect.

The United Nations and the Security Council remain at the centre of the effort to fulfill the overarching tasks set by the 12 resolutions adopted thus far: to repel aggression and to build genuine peace and stability. The Council today is providing a broad framework for dealing with this new phase of our task. Tomorrow the military leaders of the coalition meet with Iraq's military leaders to define

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

the details of the arrangements required to put an end to hostilities, with this resolution as the foundation. We hope for early success in those discussions so we can get on with our work.

Even as we are putting this framework into place, the United States, other members of the Council and other States in the region are beginning to consult on the future steps which will be required. Secretary Baker is departing soon for the area to discuss the key questions which need to be addressed in order to ensure that the peace we have secured at such great cost is a lasting one. The nations of the region will clearly take the lead in finding answers to these questions. My country looks forward to working on this in capitals and within the Council. We have a long and difficult road before us, and the Council has a most important role to play.

President Bush said in his address of 27 February, lauding the coalition and the liberation of Kuwait, that this war is now behind us. Ahead of us is the difficult task of securing a potentially historic peace. President Bush has frequently repeated that our quarrel is not with the people of Iraq, but with the leaders of Iraq and their destructive policies. Indeed, the United States will be looking for ways to identify and meet the humanitarian relief needs of the Iraqi people, which has suffered so much under Saddam Hussein. We look forward to the day when Iraq can once again assume full membership in the family of nations. This resolution shows Iraq the way to begin to do so.

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

International collective security has functioned in the Gulf. All of us now have a responsibility to those who have suffered, to those who have risked their lives and to those of all nations who have perished to see to it that history does not repeat itself. We cannot have paid the price of aggression and its defeat only to allow it to recur. The Council's task now, the one we begin accomplishing today, is to point the way to building a peaceful and secure system which deters the repetition of aggression and suffering we have seen over the past seven months.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The cessation of hostilities in the Persian Gulf is a major international event. The Soviet Union warmly welcomed the liberation of Kuwait, the restoration of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the return to the country of its legitimate Government.

The culmination of the military conflict in the Persian Gulf is the result of the collective efforts of all the States that took part in the quest for a settlement and joined together to restore the violated rights of an entire people and to prevent the seizure of one country by another. The establishment of this historic precedent involved the participation of many States, including the Soviet Union, the United States and other members of the coalition, including many Arab and Muslim States. For the first time the international community showed its united will in the face of the seizure of one State by another and was able to bring the aggressor to heel. Although this precedent may be imperfect, we should like to believe that it can prevent the emergence in the future of similar situations which are not in keeping with the new era of peaceful policy which, however difficult, is now dawning.

(Mr. Vorontsov, USSR)

As is well known, from the very outbreak of the conflict the Soviet Union firmly advocated seeking the best possible solution to the problem, above all by peaceful means. That was our policy over the entire period from 2 August last year. The President of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, consistently pursued our diplomatic policy in that regard through the most active contacts with the leaders of all the major States involved in the crisis. Our country has done a great deal to achieve the cessation of military hostilities and to avoid any further bloodshed.

The Soviet leadership urged the leadership of Iraq to announce without any further delay its acceptance of all 12 Security Council resolutions, and our recommendations ultimately bore fruit. We are convinced that the liberation of the State of Kuwait and the end to Iraqi aggression would have been impossible had those forces involved in the settlement of the conflict not acted in unison throughout all these months.

Now we face some priority tasks. Primarily, we must completely exclude the resumption of any type of military activities. That most urgent task is the purpose of the resolution that has just been adopted, resolution 686 (1991), of which the Soviet Union was a sponsor.

In the near future the Security Council will have to become deeply involved in the final political settlement of the Iraq-Kuwait conflict and the elimination of the consequences of Iraqi aggression. The Soviet Union will continue its active efforts to find a just solution acceptable to all parties.

The international community also faces the urgent task of beginning to work out and agree upon post-crisis arrangements in the region, an important element of which must be the establishment of a security system that not only marks the culmination of recent events but is a safeguard against military conflicts in the

(Mr. Vorontsov, USSR)

future. The Soviet Union has been, and continues to be, in active contact with the leading Arab and Islamic States, the United States and the major European and Asian countries with a view to finding common ground on carrying out that basic task.

The security structure in the Persian Gulf must be based primarily on the interests of the countries of the region, with the understanding that the States of the region themselves must unambiguously and clearly define their own interests. We are convinced that the vitality and reliability of the security system will to a great extent depend upon Iraq's ability to play a positive role in it. It is natural that the establishment of that system should involve a role for the United Nations, including the Security Council and its permanent members.

We believe that in solving the problem of establishing a security system for the Persian Gulf we must actively and productively discuss the question of arms shipments as well.

The events in recent months have put into sharp relief the fact that the international community must make the most determined efforts to convene an international conference on the Middle East. We are convinced that such a conference would allow us to guarantee long-term peace and security for the entire region. Along with all the parties to the conflict, we are determined to deal urgently with a settlement to the Middle East problem and to restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The protracted nature of the Arab-Israeli crisis is a primary source of instability, lack of trust and the continuing arms race in that region. The time has come for all States to take a fresh approach, remove stereotypes from their thinking and deal more actively with a solution to the problem.

I do not think it would be wrong to state that we have all learned a serious lesson from the conflict and that we shall take that lesson to heart in the

(Mr. Vorontsov, USSR)

future. It would be no exaggeration to say that we are witnessing the beginning of a new era and new relationships. In such new circumstances the Security Council will have to play an active role in discharging the responsibility placed upon it by the Charter.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): It is a pleasure for me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am confident that your rich diplomatic experience will help the Security Council discharge its noble responsibilities. I also wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe, Mr. Mumbengegwi, for his remarkable guidance of the Council in carrying out its heavy work last month.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

Since the outbreak of the Gulf war, the Chinese Government has repeatedly called for the unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait as soon as possible, an early end to the war and the achievement of peace. We are gratified to see that all parties to the conflict have now suspended their military action. We express congratulations on the restoration of Kuwait's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and on the resumption by the legitimate Government of Kuwait of the exercise of its rights and powers.

In our view, the Security Council should play a positive role in establishing a formal and stable cease-fire in the Gulf region and in seeking a practical formula for a politcal solution within the framework of the relevant Security Council resolutions so that the desire of the peoples of the Gulf region and the rest of the world for peace in the Gulf may become a reality.

The resolution which has just been adopted makes reference to securing the establishment of a definitive end to the hostilities. This deserves a positive response, but falls short of stating that the Security Council should have an important role to play with regard to the arrangement and monitoring of the cease-fire. In fact, it extends the time limit during which resolution 678 (1990) remains effective. That goes against the desire of the peoples of all countries for an early end to the war and for the achievement of peace.

It is well known that China has stood all along for settling conflicts through negotiations and abstained in the vote on resolution 678 (1990). We tried to make amendments to the relevant paragraph of the draft resolution on which we voted this evening, but our suggestions were not accepted. In those circumstances, in accordance with China's consistent position in favour of a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis, the Chinese delegation found it difficult to vote in favour of the draft resolution. It is our hope and belief that through the joint efforts of the

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

international community the sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries in the Gulf region will be respected and lasting peace and security in the Gulf region will be ultimately achieved.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on Austria's assumption of the presidency of the Council.

It will come as no surprise that we join other delegations in thanking our colleague, the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe.

France is delighted at the liberation of Kuwait. Since 2 August 1990 the goal of all the efforts of the Security Council has been the restoration of the sovereignty and independence of Kuwait. That goal has been achieved through two essential factors: the unanimous and unequivocal condemnation by the States Members of the United Nations of the aggression against Kuwait; and action by the Security Council, which since August has worked cohesively and with determination.

The long-awaited liberation of Kuwait must not make us forget, in the joy of celebration, the suffering of the Kuwaiti people, its spirit of resistance and the sacrifices it has made. France pays a tribute to its courage. Nor can we remain indifferent to the suffering the Iraqi people has endured as a result of the tragic adventure into which it was led.

We take note of Iraq's acceptance of all the resolutions adopted by the Security Council on behalf of the entire international community. That acceptance is a prerequisite for the re-establishment, on a sound and lasting basis, of stability in the region.

In that connection, resolution 686 (1991), which we have just adopted and of which France was a sponsor, is an indispensable step. That resolution - the first

(Mr. Blanc, France)

since the liberation of Kuwait - charts the course for a final cessation of hostilities, which we hope can be announced soon. Peace begins when weapons are silenced, but it must then be confirmed and consolidated as quickly as possible.

The United Nations is now faced with a prodigious undertaking. The Organization, first, must consolidate effectively the cessation of hostilities and then, along with the countries of the region and all interested parties, define the conditions for the lasting restoration of peace and security in the region.

Consistent with its mandate, the Security Council in close coordination with the Secretary-General will continue fully to shoulder its responsibilities. The determination the Council has shown for the past seven months, without which the liberation of Kuwait would not have been possible, must be sustained and utilized to settle other conflicts, starting with those of the Near and Middle East.

For its part, France will always strive to ensure that there is one law for all. My delegation therefore stands ready to make an active contribution to the work of the Council in this new phase of its activities.

Mr. NOTERDAEME (Belgium) (interpretation from French): Belgium welcomes the suspension of military operations in the Gulf and Iraq's official announcement of its commitment to comply with the 12 relevant resolutions of the Security Council. That should bring to an end a conflict which has already had too many victims - victims to whom my Government pays its respects.

It is particularly deplorable that the Gulf tragedy occurred at a time when we had every reason to look to the future with confidence. The events in Eastern and Central Europe has given us hope that international relations would henceforth be guided by principles of freedom, democracy and law.

One man did not want that. President Saddam Hussein wanted to divide a world that was asking only to be united.

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

The international community reacted to that aggressive policy in a patient, firm and united manner.

It was patient: From the first day various means of pressure were employed to make Iraq comply with international law, without ever neglecting diplomatic negotiations. In that vein, the Security Council entrusted to the Secretary-General a mission of good offices, and there were numerous peace initiatives, including those of the non-aligned countries, the Arab world, the Soviet Union and the Western world.

It was firm: When it became clear that Saddam Hussein would stubbornly refuse to seize the opportunities for peace that were offered to him, the international community set in motion the means necessary to ensure respect for the law.

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

It has been united, since a coalition was formed, of which Belgium is honoured to be a part and which comprises some 30 nations from all continents and representing a broad range of political systems. This is indeed proof that the action undertaken in resolution 678 (1990) was in keeping with the wishes of the international community as a whole.

It is now up to the Security Council to make the necessary arrangements to put an end to the conflict. This is the goal of the resolution we have just adopted. My Government feels that most of its concerns in this regard have been met therein.

Indeed, with regard to the military aspect, the resolution allows for the speedy conclusion of a definitive cease-fire through a number of commitments Iraq must enter into, and these commitments are clearly set forth in paragraphs 2 and 3: the release of all prisoners of war; the release of all Kuwaiti hostages taken to Iraq; the cessation of hostile or provocative actions, including the launching of missiles; and effective cooperation with regard to the clearing of mines - this involves in particular guaranteeing the safegy of mine-clearing teams on land and at sea.

With regard to the political aspect, the resolution quite rightly states that Iraq must first and foremost accept by deeds the 12 relevant resolutions of the Security Council. This means that Iraq must on a priority basis rescind any action purporting to annex Kuwait.

Furthermore, my Government also asks that Iraq renounce acts of terrorism and incitement to such acts.

With regard to the humanitarian aspects, we must urgently alleviate the suffering inflicted by Saddam Hussein on the Kuwaiti population and, lest we forget, on his own people. This is why my country attaches great importance to the third preambular paragraph.

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

Belgium requests the Red Cross and the various national and international humanitarian bodies to redouble their efforts in bringing a maximum of food assistance to the region.

Until our Council establishes a final system of arrangements covering the humnitarian - especially food - needs in Iraq, full use must be made of the opportunities provided by the Committee established under resolution 661 (1990), so that those people who have been sorely tried by the conflict in the Gulf may have the necessary food supplies as soon as possible.

We welcome the report of the mission undertaken jointly by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which should permit the sanctions Committee to be more liberal in granting Iraq food assistance for humanitarian reasons.

I note with satisfaction that the sanctions Committee has already facilitated to the extent possible activities organized by the Red Cross for the particularly vulnerable population groups. My Government has already transmitted to that Committee a request from the Belgian Red Cross to send medical supplies and food to Iraq.

Above and beyond all these immediate steps, the Security Council must in due course focus its attention on more long-term arrangements. The unity in the Council that has enabled us to give back to Kuwait its freedom and independence must now be focused on helping the region recover peace and security.

In this regard, it is clear that, given the complexity of the situation, the countries of the region will have a major role to play. Furthermore, a sense of responsibility on the part of the active members of the coalition will, for obviously reasons, be crucial.

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

Belgium is convinced that the action of the Security Council aimed at restoring peace and security in the region should be based on four considerations:

First of all, Kuwait's security must be strengthened and guaranteed by insisting on the necessary respect for international borders, an essential element for stability in the region as a whole.

Secondly, we must at all cost avoid a situation in which Iraq might again gain an offensive military potential - including, in particular, missiles - and possess weapons of mass destruction, such as chemical and nuclear weapons. That is why my Government believes that, initially, it will be necessary to maintain a military embargo against Iraq. Then, a more comprehensive solution to the problem of overarmament in the region will be required.

Thirdly, as the 12 countries of the European Community have pointed out, the international community must renew its efforts to arrive at a speedy comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestinian question. We must actively promote the search for a peaceful solution through dialogue with and among all the parties concerned.

Finally, in recalling the period following the Second World War, Belgium believes, together with its partners in the Twelve, that we must develop a comprehensive approach to the region, one which will deal with security questions, political problems and economic cooperation.

This could be done through a conference on security and cooperation in the Middle East, which would allow us to take up constructively the major problems of the region, first and foremost are of course the Israeli Arab conflict and the Palestinian question, but also the recognition of the State of Israel, the Lebanese problem and the Kurdish question.

In preparing such a conference, it would be useful to appoint a mediator. My Government hopes that such an appointment will be made quickly.

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

For the reasons I have just given, Belgium joined the sponsors of the resolution we have just adoopted.

My Government hopes that in the near future the Security Council will take a stand on the necessary renunciation by Iraq of any form of appeal for and support of terrorism, on the sending of a United Nations observer force and on the lifting of the food embargo.

Finally, the Council should reflect on what I have termed the longer-term arrangements, in order in due course to be in a position to make a substantial contribution also in this sphere.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, aware as we are of your personal qualities and your calibre, since we have had the opportunity to work with you many times, I cannot fail but be assured of the success of the Council's work now that it is under your wise guidance during this month of March 1991. My delegation wishes to congratulate you most warmly.

I take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the outgoing President, His Excellency Ambassador Mumbengegwi, for the outstanding manner in which he guided the Council's work during February.

The Council is meeting today in formal and public session on the situation between Iraq and Kuwait, after having held several closed meetings to consider and follow closely developments in the Gulf, in the certainty that the goals it sought, discretely but effectively, have by and large been achieved, given the full implementation of resolution 678 (1990) which has at last allowed for the liberation of Kuwait on 27 February 1991.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

That was also the objective that Kuwait, through its Permanent Representative, His Excellency Mr. Abulhasan, had entrusted to the Security Council by stating, on 2 August 1990, that the Council was responsible for the protection of Kuwait as well as for its security, its sovereignty and its territorial integrity, which had just been violated by Iraq. Indeed, he appealed to the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities and adopt measures to compel Iraq to withdraw its forces immediately and unconditionally and to return to the positions they had occupied on 1 August 1990.

He concluded his request to the Council by recalling that his country, a small country, drew its strength and owed its existence to the legitimacy of the rules of international law incarnated in the Security Council through its role of ensuring respect for the provisions of the Charter by all the States Members of our Organization.

This was, then, a test - or, even more, an occasion for testing the Council's responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in the region of the Persian Gulf. To that end, Article 51 of the Charter was invoked. This Article deals with the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations.

In his reply, on 2 August 1990, the representative of Iraq stated that the Iraqi forces were going to leave Kuwait within only a few days, or at the most a few weeks, because Iraq was not pursuing any goal or objective in Kuwait but wished to maintain cordial and good-neighbourly relations with Kuwait.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

Throughout the period of the war, which extended from 2 August 1990 to 28 February 1991, not even a beginning was made on the implementation of this statement about the withdrawal of Iraqi troops. That situation explains the steps the Security Council deemed it necessary to adopt, beginning with resolution 660 (1990) and ending with resolution 678 (1990), with a view to restoring peace and international security to the region as well as Kuwait's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

We should note in this regard that all the first 11 resolutions were peaceful in nature and that even the last resolution, 678 (1990), included a 46-day ultimatum, to enable Iraq to comply with the spirit and the letter of Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations. During that period many goodwill missions and peace initiatives were undertaken in an attempt to persuade Iraq to withdraw peacefully from Kuwait.

Despite, on the one hand, the initiation of military operations on 16 January 1991 by 28 States Members of our Organization, in accordance with paragraph 2 of resolution 678 (1990) and, on the other hand, the intransigence of the Iraqi authorities, the President of the Soviet Union, His Excellency Mr. Gorbachev, never lost hope and continued his good offices in an attempt to change the Iraqi position.

Thus, at the moment when the coalition forces reached the capital of Kuwait, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq confirmed, on 28 February 1991, Iraq's agreement to comply fully with all the resolutions adopted by the Security Council on the situation between Iraq and Kuwait.

Is this not an unprecedented example? Twenty-eight nations undertook the task of ensuring the security of small States, thereby demonstrating the determination

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

of our Organization and the international community to institute a new era of peace based on scrupulous respect for the rules of international law and détente that will henceforth characterize the new world order. Is it not, then, imperative for the Security Council to take the steps that will build confidence and peace in the entire region, including the Middle East? For, if the liberation of Kuwait, which honours the Security Council and restores its prestige, has taken only seven months, how can we explain the fact that the Palestinian question, which has existed since the General Assembly adopted resolution 181 B (II) of 29 November 1947, continues to be before the Council, without any peaceful and lasting solution having been found?

However that may be, my delegation remains convinced that the measures advocated in resolution 686 (1991) does lay down the modalities, in the short term, for putting an end to all the hostilities in the region and imposing strict respect for the rules of international law, in particular all 12 resolutions adopted by the Council on the situation between Iraq and Kuwait. Of course, we hope that in the future relations of friendship, good-neighbourliness and cooperation will prevail among all the States of the region, including Iraq.

It was because of all the aspects stemming from the cessation of hostilities in the Persian Gulf and the overriding necessity to establish a lasting peace in that region that my delegation co-sponsored the draft resolution that has just been adopted by the Security Council as resolution 686 (1991).

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zaire for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. ANET (Côte d'Ivoire) (interpretation from French): I wish first to congratulate you, Sir, as you take up your duties as President of the Security Council. I would venture to hope that under your guidance the Council will consolidate peace in the Gulf region.

I wish also to congratulate your predecessor, the Ambassador of Zimbabwe, and to tell him how proud I feel when I feel when I remember the effectiveness with which he guided the work of the Council last month. We shall all recall that it was under his presidency that the hostilities in the Gulf were suspended.

I wish to tell the Ambassador of Kuwait and, through him, all the people of Kuwait, how pleased my country, Côte d'Ivoire, is to see Kuwait liberated and sovereign. While the Kuwaiti people lost their freedom for approximately seven months, legally they never lost their sovereignty. All justice-loving peoples supported Kuwait, as can be seen from resolution 662 (1990), which declared the annexation of Kuwait null and void.

We must now think about the future, about the rebuilding of Kuwait. We can only hope that this will take place in conditions of peace, unity and tolerance.

For my delegation, the liberation of Kuwait symbolizes first and foremost the triumph of justice over brutal force. It marks the dawn of a new era. We hope that this era, whose dawning we greatly welcome, will not stop at the gates of Kuwait. The action of the coalition forces, authorized by the Security Council, will find its true justification in the Council's ability to meet objectively and in a balanced way the many challenges to peace with which it will continue to be confronted. We must begin right now to show by our actions faith and optimism and a deep-seated commitment to the moral and ethical values of peace and justice which constantly imbue the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Anet, Côte d'Ivoire)

In voting in favour of resolution 686 (1991), which sets the standards for a cease-fire that we hope will very soon be monitored by the appropriate United Nations bodies, my delegation wished to contribute to the dawning of an era of peace and justice in the Gulf region in particular and in the entire region.

Need I emphasize that peace is interdependent in time and in space.

(Mr. Anet, Côte d'Ivoire)

As we talk of peace, as we commit ourselves to working for the reign of peace, justice and law, we must remember that our objective requires an effort of will, faith and political courage.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate Côte d'Ivoire's commitment, along with all those who persistently seek peace, justice and respect for law, to ensure that the new international era that is so deeply desired will be that of true peace unfrustrated, peace that liberates peoples and teaches them tolerance.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Côte d'Ivoire for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. MONTEANU (Romania): My delegation would like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. We are confident that under your very able leadership, and given your exceptional experience, the Council will indeed fulfil its mandate. I should like also to take this opportunity to reiterate our thanks and congratulations to the representative of Zimbabwe for the exemplary manner in which he performed his duties as President of the Security Council for the month of February. The words of appreciation expressed to him by previous speakers are well deserved, and my delegation fully shares in them.

Coming to the item under consideration, my delegation would like to emphasize that, as a sponsor of the resolution just adopted, we find our position adequately reflected in that document. Indeed the Council has to be instrumental in securing the rapid establishment of a definitive end to the hostilities in the Persian Gulf and the restoration of international peace and security in the region in accordance with all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, including the one adopted this evening.

Over the last seven months my delegation has many times presented the position of Romania on various aspects and stages of the conflict in the Persian Gulf.

(Mr. Monteanu, Romania)

Our position on the item remains in full harmony and conformity with all the resolutions adopted by the Council concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait.

I should now like to summarize the views of my country on the issue under consideration in the light of the recent developments in the Gulf region.

From the very beginning of the conflict Romania has consistently promoted respect for international legality and has firmly supported the efforts of the multinational coalition for the restoration of legal order. After the liberation of Kuwait, the Government of Romania has welcomed with satisfaction the suspension of military operations by the forces of the coalition. My Government also welcomed the acceptance by Iraq of all the resolutions of the Security Council on the crisis in the area.

While reaffirming its determination to pursue the efforts for the full implementation of the Security Council resolutions in cooperation with the international community, Romania considers that the rapid establishment of a definitive end to the hostilities can reopen the way to a peaceful settlement in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the fundamental principles of international law.

Romania was particularly happy to witness the liberation of Kuwait. Romania and the Romanian people have been permanently on the side of Kuwait and its people during the ordeal it has experienced through the foreign occupation. Although we have suffered considerable material losses as a result of the conflict in the Gulf, with direct consequences for the economic situation of our country, Romania has strictly observed the sanctions decided on by the Security Council. Now we are ready to make available to friendly Kuwait all the necessary means at our disposal to support the reconstruction of the country and its economic infrastructure.

It is undeniable that the support extended to Kuwait illustrates the clear will of the international community as expressed in the relevant resolutions of the

(Mr. Monteanu, Romania)

Security Council. It is a victory for the values of international law and legality. These positive events should have a visible impact for the further strengthening of the role and contribution of the United Nations and its institutions in the establishment of a system of collective security and should guarantee the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States.

Having adopted a new resolution on the item concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait, we express the hope that this resolution will determine an adequate response from Iraq. This resolution, as all the resolutions dealing with the situation between Iraq and Kuwait, is not directed against the people of Iraq, which has suffered so much, but is oriented towards a final peaceful solution of the conflict in that area. The Iraqi people should be the natural beneficiary of a peaceful approach, which may enable it to dedictate all efforts and labour to the reconstruction of their country. We are confident that Iraq will soon find its dignified place in the community of nations as a peace-loving country acting for the implementation of the ideals of the United Nations.

We have no doubt that after seven months of defending the basic purposes and principles of the United Nations, the Security Council is giving a bright chance and a testimony to the world organization to fully prove its political and legal potential in the maintenance of international peace and security and in the protection of the supreme values of humankind.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Romania for his kind words addressed to me.

Sir DAVID HANNAY (United Kingdom): Mr. President, my tribute to you and to your predecessor will be as you wish: a silent one.

The debate we are having today and the resolution we have adopted mark the opening of what one could call the third phase of this very serious international crisis.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

In the first phase, the Security Council responded with the 12 resolutions we know so well, with a major effort to persuade Iraq to comply with them by peaceful means. That effort lasted many long months and gave rise to an enormous amount of diplomatic activity. Alas, it failed.

The second phase is the one that has just ended, and was characterized by the use of force to give effect to the 12 resolutions we had adopted.

The third phase, which is now beginning, is probably the most difficult, and certainly the most important, of the three, and it is the one that must be dedicated to the restoration of peace and security in the region.

The forces of my country played their full role in the liberation of Kuwait, and we share the sense of pride and relief that the will of the international community and of the Security Council prevailed. It was a triumph for the rule of international law and for collective security.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

The United Nations and the international community can now turn to the more difficult task, the task of assisting in the establishment of a durable system of peace and security in the Gulf region, and in the Middle East more widely, and also to the reconstruction of Kuwait and the rehabilitation of its population.

First, however, we have to deal with the immediate aftermath of the hostilities. Some of this task is properly work for the military commanders in the field, and we welcome very much that the meetings will be taking place tomorrow. We hope that those meetings will lead to very rapid progress, but it is right, too, that the Security Council should establish the basic framework within which the conditions can be created for a definitive end to the hostilities, and that is what the present resolution is designed to do. It deals with the immediate future and the next phase, which we hope will be a short one and will lead to the winding down of hostilities.

Much, of course, will depend on the Government of Iraq. We see this resolution as the first of a series that will be needed if we are to establish stability in the region. The requirements it places on the Government of Iraq are not new ones. They flow from the resolutions we have adopted and from the statements previously made on behalf of the Governments assisting and cooperating with the Government of Kuwait. But the requirements must be explicitly accepted by Iraq, and that is essential to permit a definite end to the hostilities.

In recent months the Government of Iraq has, unfortunately, shown how necessary it is to get these clear and formal undertakings - and they must be clear and they must be commitments. We have still, I fear, no access by the International Committee of the Red Cross to the prisoners of war taken from the allied forces. We have still no detailed commitment by Iraq to the timing and modalities of their release. We have still no clear picture about the location of

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

the mines, the explosives and so on in Iraq and in Kuwait. We have no explicit acceptance of the liability for the terrible damage wrought in Kuwait, and we still have much hostility and defiance pouring from the media in Iraq. All this is cause for regret, but we hope that it will be reversed and that the necessary commitments will be made.

It really is essential that Iraq should make its contribution to the climate of confidence and reconciliation by a rapid and formal compliance with the provisions of this resolution. This will then enable us to meet again in the near future and to take the next steps towards the restoration of international peace and stability in the area. That is the wish of my Government and of those with whom we are allied. We will then be able to move on to the broader problems of the Middle East which so urgently need to be resolved.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): It is with great pleasure, Mr. President, that I convey to you our very warm felicitations on your assumption of the Council's presidency. In a very short period of two days you have already given ample evidence of your democratic approach, your incisive analysis and your diplomatic skills. With Austria my country has enjoyed an uninterrupted and long tradition of friendly ties and close mutual understanding. We welcome your guidance of the Council's proceedings during the current month.

It is particularly gratifying for me to put on record my delegation's unqualified admiration and appreciation for the extraordinarily efficient manner in which His Excellency Ambassador Mumbengegwi of Zimbabwe presided over the proceedings of the Council last month. It was indeed a most difficult period, and my friend and colleague the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe displayed great wisdom, balance of judgement and firmness.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

The Government and people of India have rejoiced in the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait, as well as in the re-establishment of the legitimate Government of the State of Kuwait. The President and Prime Minister of India have already sent warm congratulatory messages to His Highness the Emir of Kuwait. Relations between the Governments and peoples of India and Kuwait have through the years been warm and friendly. Throughout the months of the invasion and the illegal occupation of Kuwait by Iraq our exchanges with the Government of the State of Kuwait continued to be characterized by the traditional warmth. We are taking urgent steps to restore the functional continuity of our Mission in Kuwait, and we are confident that the strengthening and diversification of relations at all levels will be resumed in the near future.

My delegation's approach to this problem is guided by two broad considerations: re-establishment of peace and security in the area as early as possible and the role of the United Nations and the Security Council. The immediate step is to consolidate the cessation of hostilities. My Government welcomed the announcement by the President of the United States, on behalf of Kuwait and the Member States cooperating with Kuwait, of the suspension on 27 February of combat operations in the Gulf. We regard it as a significant step towards the restoration of peace in the area and the re-establishment of durable security and stability.

Obviously, some practical steps have to be taken to ensure that fighting does not resume. Those aspects, we believe, will be discussed by the military commanders of the two sides, perhaps tomorrow. An extremely important requirement is the release of prisoners of war. This must be done in the speediest possible manner because of humanitarian considerations. It goes without saying, of course,

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

that this applies to all prisoners of war on both sides. The same is true for such civilians as might have been illegally detained. They also must be enabled to reunite with their families without delay. This aspect has to be given the highest priority.

Regarding resolution 686 (1991), just adopted, we have had an opportunity to enter into dialogue with its sponsors about the intents and purposes of their proposals. They provided us clarifications and explanations. We appreciate their efforts. As a result, we had a somewhat better understanding of the objectives of the resolution. We can appreciate some of them, but there are points that are not exactly clear to us and there are issues we would have liked to see incorporated in the draft resolution. We feel that with sufficient time to consider the draft resolution, even without taking the weekend and the factor of the time difference into account, and with a more active and prolonged dialogue, we might conceivably have reached a more consensual draft that could have addressed some of the grave and urgent issues in a more positive and purposeful manner and helped in achieving a rapid and durable restoration of peace and security in the area.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

Once the pressing humanitarian concerns - such as return of prisoners of war, return of detainees and the beginning of the return of property - are taken care of, it is imperative for the Council, without any delay, to move to the next step: a permanent or formal cease-fire, as indeed was stated by President Bush in his statement of 27 February.

This important element is missing from the resolution adopted by the Council. Similarly, the procedure to verify compliance by Iraq with whatever it is required to do for a cease-fire is vague. My delegation would have preferred to have the Secretary-General involved in this process, in however indirect a manner. We spent quite some time in the informal consultations on this point, but without resolving it to my delegation's full satisfaction.

A major consideration for my delegation, as I said earlier, is the need to restore peace without delay. As President Bush has said, we must now meet the challenge of securing the peace. The people of this region are extremely anxious for peace - peace with honour and justice. We believe that the time for recrimination should be behind us. It certainly will not be easy for the people to forget the traumatic experiences of the past seven months. This is perfectly understandable. But the Council and the international community should not take any step which will continue to foment mistrust among peoples of the region. Any provision which keeps open the possibility of the resumption of hostilities, as is the case in the present resolution, cannot be accepted by my delegation.

Another point of concern to my delegation is the continuation of the sanctions. The purpose for which the sanctions régime was enacted - and India has implemented that régime at great cost to itself - has been specificed in resolution 661 (1990) and would have been fulfilled when one further step, in addition to Kuwait's liberation, had been taken. Resolution 662 (1990), which calls for

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

annulling the purported annexation of Kuwait, is extremely important. It is imperative that Iraq take immediate steps to rescind this measure.

Iraq has already agreed to liability under international law for the loss or damage caused to Kuwait or third countries as a result of Iraq's invasion and illegal annexation. This Iraq has done by agreeing to resolution 674 (1990) along with other mandatory resolutions. My delegation would like the Council to begin an early examination of the question of sanctions. The sanctions are playing havoc, not only with Iraq's economy but also with the economy of my country and indeed the economies of many other countries. They are affecting patterns and flows of world trade. The people of Iraq certainly deserve relief. This important element is also missing from the resolution.

Iraq has officially confirmed its willingness to comply with all relevant Security Council resolutions. Indeed, those resolutions were adopted under hapter VII of the Charter, and as such are mandatory on all States. Iraq has agreed to take immediate concrete measures in regard to such matters as the return of prisoners of war, in accordance with relevant provisions of international law. These steps should provide enough ground for the Security Council to take appropriate measures to move rapidly towards a durable peace in the area. The Security Council ought also to have an important role, at the appropriate time, along with States of the region and other parties concerned, in expeditiously creating conditions for stable peace and security in the region.

It has been observed time and again by several delegations that the Gulf crisis has demonstrated that the international community cannot tolerate acts of unprovoked invasion and illegal occupation or annexation. The United Nations and the Security Council have rightly led the efforts of the international community in this effort. The 12 resolutions adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter embody

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

the international response. The United Nations and the Council showed the way towards resolving the crisis and they must rightly lead us all in re-establishing peace and security. Such a role of the United Nations and of the Council will only be in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

My delegation is of the view that the United Nations has a most important function in re-establishing the conditions of peace in the area by providing its reassuring presence in tangible terms. We believe that even a token United Nations presence will provide renewed hope and assurance to the people in the area.

My delegation is also most concerned about the humanitarian conditions as they now exist in the area, particularly in Iraq and Kuwait. Both the occupation and armed conflict have taken a most severe, often inhumane toll on human life as well as on basic facilities of life, property and economic infrastructure. The recent joint mission of the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Health Organization, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the media and other independent observers have all brought out the stark and distressing conditions in these two countries. This is not the time for retribution or recrimination. We believe that the international community should facilitate provision of foodstuffs and other basic needs of life to the people of the area on a high-priority basis, and that the Security Council must immediately make this possible.

It is for these reasons that my delegation abstained in the vote on the draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of India for his kind words addressed to me and my country.

Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like at the outset to join all those who have conveyed their congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March.

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

Familiar with you as we are, we know that with your experience and capacities you will manage to guide our work in the most dynamic and effective way towards the most positive outcome.

I should also like expressly to place on record Ecuador's full congratulations for the superb way in which the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe presided over the Council last month.

On 27 February, the liberation of Kuwait was joyfully announced. We all felt gratified, optimistic and relieved at this news. At the same time, the State that had violated the norms of law finally announced its compliance with the resolutions of the Council that were and continue to be the foundation for an appropriate and permanent solution of this problem. Ecuador and the States members of the Rio Group that analysed the situation took a specific public stand on the matter and recognized that without compliance with said resolutions a solution to the problem was impossible.

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity were thus restored. The inadmissibility of acquiring territory by force was again confirmed. The rule of law had triumphed over the use of force.

The liberation of Kuwait also made possible the entry into force of a de facto cease-fire, and the horrifying loss of human life and the material destruction were thus suspended. The collective action taken by the international Organization had been crowned with success, thus setting a precedent that gives us reason for deep thought. First, we must think about the fact that only through law can international relations be organized in a peaceful way, in accordance with the needs of mankind. Secondly, we must think about the indispensable need constantly and progressively to perfect ways and means to resolve international disputes peacefully, so that as far as possible collective measures do not have to involve the use of force, which, once used, means suffering for the human race. Those are two lessons that I regard as fundamental for the organization of what has come to be called the new international order.

The resolution we have just adopted is a positive and effective step along the path the United Nations must follow in order firmly to establish permanent peace in the area and a security machinery for the region. But it is only a first step. It must be followed - very quickly, it is to be hoped - by others which above all will formalize a permanent cease-fire, rendering unnecessary the use once again of those means which resolution 678 (1990) made available to the member States of the coalition for the purpose of re-establishing law, peace and security in the area. This will require quick and effective compliance in good faith with those obligations that Iraq shoulders in committing itself to abiding by the 12 relevant Security Council resolutions - and now the thirteenth.

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

It will also be necessary immediately to adopt measures to render null and void domestic legislation with regard to the annexation of Kuwait so as to make perfectly clear the existence of a situation in which Kuwait's sovereignty and territorial integrity are not matters for discussion. There will have to be speedy compliance with the commitment to free prisoners of war and civilian detainees, and there will have to be effective, practical assumption of Iraq's responsibilities under international law for the invasion and the damage caused to Kuwait.

Ecuador voted for the resolution for all those reasons, because the resolution proposes measures to those ends. However, I must say that we should have liked greater clarity as regards the declaration of a cease-fire and the definitive establishment of the cessation of hostilities. We should have liked recognition of the primary, leading role of the international Organization and the Security Council with regard to international peace and security, and we should have liked provision for the possibility of our Secretary-General's submitting to us a report about how to set up and dispatch to the region as soon as possible an observer mission to cooperate in the establishment of lasting peace. Finally, we should have liked the resolution to envisage broad, generous and effective measures to ensure that humanitarian aid is given all those that are suffering, whatever their nationality. We therefore favoured some of the amendments proposed by the delegation of Cuba.

We believe that paragraph 4 of the resolution is in reality a statement of a situation that exists with regard to resolution 678 (1990). I repeat our fervent desire that there shall be no need once again to use force to ensure compliance with Council resolutions.

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

We must now reflect on how to contribute to the establishment of lasting peace in the region. Here we recognize the prime role the Arab nation, the States of the region, must play. It will be up to them, first, to examine and resolve matters in this regard. The world Organization will, of course, have to give them the greatest cooperation and put itself fully at their service to that end.

Without accepting conditions in the form of linkage to other problems in the region, we have always spoken in favour of the Council's now turning to the solution of other still unresolved problems in the Middle East. We believe that the success the world Organization has enjoyed, by establishing the rule of law and declaring null and void the violations of law that have taken place, must be followed by conduct that will gain it ever greater prestige and allow it clearly to affirm that the approach based on justice, taken in the light of the need for law to prevail, will be applied to all existing situations, or possible future situations, whether in the area or in any other region of the world.

For those reasons I ask the members of the Council to forgive me if I repeat a sentence with which I concluded one of my interventions in our informal consultations: Ecuador, which was not a member of the Council when the war began, is very pleased to be a part of it and to cooperate in the re-establishment of lasting peace in the region.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Ecuador for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Austria.

Since our last meeting in this Chamber, momentous developments have taken place resulting in a cessation of hostilities. Austria deeply welcomes the liberation of Kuwait and the re-establishment of its independence. Thus the grave violation of basic norms of international law caused by the Iraqi aggression has been rectified. We owe this to the resolve of the international community and in particular of the Member States cooperating with Kuwait in liberating that country pursuant to resolution 678 (1990). Our immediate task now is the consolidation of that de facto situation, which is the aim of the resolution we have just adopted.

We see its main importance in its humanitarian elements, paramount among which are the immediate return of detained Kuwaiti and third-country nationals and the release of all prisoners of war under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross. By the same token, measures will have to be undertaken urgently to safeguard access by the Kuwaiti and Iraqi populations to medical supplies and foodstuffs under the terms of Security Council resolution 666 (1990). We should be aware that urgent measures for further humanitarian relief will be required from the international community.

The next step will be the rapid establishment of a formal cease-fire. The Security Council will therefore remain actively seized of the matter. During this second phase of our work, serious consideration should also be given, in consultation with countries of the region, to a United Nations role in monitoring such a cease-fire. Austria has already declared its readiness to contribute to such a United Nations effort.

(The President)

Another consideration during this second phase will be a review of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, including the question of sanctions, as part of the process of re-establishing peace and cooperation in the area.

At the outset I spoke of recent momentous developments. In a third phase we will have to take other important and far-reaching decisions: The Security Council is responsible not only for maintaining security but also for promoting peace. This should be done in cooperation with regional mechanisms. The Security Council has shown its potential during the Gulf crisis. On the other hand, we all should have learned some lessons. One important lesson is the desirability of strengthening the preventive role of the United Nations and of this Council in particular. Another is that ultimately only political solutions will provide the necessary framework for a just and lasting settlement of this and other problems of the region. Devising such a framwork, such an architecture, will be a momentous task indeed. Confidence-building measures, disarmament and the strengthening of non-proliferation arrangements will have to be part of such comprehensive solutions.

Austria has noted with satisfaction the increased - and indeed now almost universal - awareness that dealing with the causes and sources of conflict in the region, including the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem, will be especially important in the aftermath of the Gulf crisis. We are confident that the Security Council can make a substantial contribution to the achievement of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

We owe this, first and foremost, to the peoples of the region. We also owe it, however, to this Council as the organ on which Member States have conferred the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I now call on the representative of Kuwait, who has asked to make a statement.

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a source of pleasure to me and my delegation that you, Sir, are presiding over the work of the Security Council this month. Your activities as the representative of friendly Austria have been marked by your skill as a seasoned diplomat, and we are confident that you will guide the Council to success.

I wish also to thank my friend His Excellency Ambassador Mumbengegwi, Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe, for his persistent efforts as President of the Security Council last month. We hope that the work of his country, a Member of the United Nations, in the international endeavour mandated by the Security Council will lend a permanent lustre to his career.

Praise and thanks be to God, who only can be thanked for good fortune. Praise and thanks be to God, who has decreed and granted victory. Praise and thanks be to God, who has upheld righteousness. Praise and thanks be to God, who has eliminated falsehood, for falsehood is bound to perish.

The Security Council has just adopted a resolution whose complete implementation will, I hope, ring down the curtain on the tragedy written, acted and directed by a régime which was born of aggression and which lived by aggression, a régime whose sole preoccupation was to squander the great wealth of the fraternal people of Iraq with a view to stockpiling weapons, committing aggression, practising expansion, plotting conspiracies and buying off those of weak moral fibre inside and outside Iraq, all while the fraternal people of Iraq grew hungrier and poorer. Despite all this, that people could not say one word to express its hopes or complain of its wounds for fear of the torture, oppression and murder the inhumanity of which we, the sons of Kuwait who have lived for seven months under the yoke of Iraqi occupation, have come to know.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

We hope the Iraqi regime will implement resolution 686 (1991) with the utmost promptness and seriousness and that it will remember that the international community, through the forces allied with Kuwait, will accept no stalling tactics. We hope it will remember that under that resolution those forces have the means to impose compliance by force if it is not forthcoming voluntarily. We sincerely hope the Iraqi regime will learn from the bitter experience it has imposed on its people.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

Since the beginning of the treacherous Iraqi aggression against my country, Kuwait, your Council, backed by the entire international community, rejected and condemned that aggression, adopting a number of resolutions, including under Chapter VII of the Charter, to put an end to it and reverse it.

Noble international, Islamic and Arab diplomatic endeavours were actively pursued, and Baghdad became the point of convergence for all these efforts at mediation aimed at explaining the gravity of the Iraqi aggression and its effects on international peace and security. Those mediation efforts attempted to spare Iraq, Kuwait and the region the scourges of a devastation whose limits were only known to God. In spite of the 12 resolutions adopted by the Security Council and of the very clear signals of the forces allied with my country, Kuwait, to implement those resolutions - especially resolution 678 (1990) - that military force would be used decisively to deter the aggressor and to put an end to violations of humanitarian laws, the only response of the Iraqi regime was obstinacy born of ignorance, arrogance born of conceit, hollow boasting and rejection.

Then, as members know, on 16 January the military operations began. Thus, Saddam's policy resulted in the destruction of the Iraqi strategic and military infrastructure. Saddam exposed Iraq to a devastation it could have been spared. However, obstinacy, arrogance, ignorance and conceit reigned unabated, in spite of the fact that mediation and diplomatic attempts never ceased, with the aim of averting further destruction of the region and its resources. Foremost among those endeavours were those of President Gorbachev of the Soviet Union and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In spite of all those noble endeavours, obstinacy and arrogance remained just as they were before the beginning of military operations.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

Then and only then - after the entire Iraqi army had been defeated, after its remnants had been crushed and its war machinery destroyed, after the fraternal people of Iraq had begun to lick their wounds and come to discover the horror of their misfortune and the magnitude of their losses - was the process of yielding to and accepting the Council's resolutions set in motion. We may well wonder: why then only? We get the only possible answer: when the imminent danger neared the head of that regime and its henchmen, then and only then did the President of that regime accept to yield to the Security Council resolutions.

It is clear that in the thinking and the conduct of the Iraqi President, it is his personal security and that of his regime that take precedence over the security of the people. For that he has sacrificed the entire Iraqi people and its resources. I wonder before the Council: How many opportunities were missed by that regime to spare Iraq what befell it during and before the military operations? Even after the forced withdrawl of the Iraqi regime and after agreeing to withdraw, he still missed numerous opportunities during which he could have spared innocent bloodshed in the inferno of war. But when the regime accepted, it did so too late: lives were lost, resources squandered, and the victim was the helpless Iraqi people.

Kuwait has been liberated, thanks to the resolutions of your Council and the leadership of those States that cooperated with my country to implement those resolutions. Legitimate authority has returned to Kuwait in the person of His Highness Amir Sheikh Al-Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah and his Government to exercise its pioneering cultural role in the process of right and amity. The people of Kuwait are now living a new dawn after a very dark night that had settled over its skies for seven horrendous months. The various mass media have begun to bring live pictures of the agony and devastation inflicted by the usurping Iraqi regime on the

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

people of Kuwait and its resources, now that the complete media black-out imposed by that regime on Kuwait for 209 days has been lifted. During the occupation, we brought before the Council, through the Secretary-General, the events of that tragedy and plunder, but the Iraqi regime and its representatives here said that all these were baseless fabrications invented by public relations firms.

The representative of that regime in Washington, when confronted by a question from a female Kuwaiti citizen during a television programme concerning the crimes perpetrated by that regime's henchmen against the unarmed innocent Kuwaiti people, did not hesitate of accusing her of lying. Who is the liar has now become clear to members, since for the past three days they have been witnessing the living pictures of statements by Kuwaitis from inside Kuwait about their suffering at the hands of that regime's executioners.

Now the Council knows, as we also know, that what actually took place was even more horrendous than what we had been conveying. There are more pictures taken and video footage shot by Kuwaiti citizens of the destruction which will be made public.

With the return of freedom, with the restoration of sovereignty and legitimacy, Kuwaitis will now be able to speak about the kind of torture inflicted upon them throughout the period of occupation.

(Mr. 'Abulnasan, Kuwait)

The Prince of Kuwait, the Government of Kuwait and the people of Kuwait will always appreciate the historic role played by the Security Council in guaranteeing and facilitating Kuwait's liberation. We are indebted and grateful to our brothers in the Gulf Cooperation Council and to Egypt and Syria for the sacrifices they made and for the proud and manly position, based on the bonds of Islam and Pan-Arabism, taken by the peoples of those States on the side of right and justice, on the path to a just peace.

We express our great indebtedness and gratitude also the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France for the outstanding role they played militarily and politically and to the Soviet Union and China for their cooperation with the Security Council in deterring and uprooting aggression.

We also express our great thanks and appreciation to all the States that participated in the coalition against falsehood, to all the States that stood at our side and supported us, to the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations.

All those States, proceeding from the resolutions of the Security Council, made history - a history that will be a point of reference for posterity, an impregnable shield that will protect peace based on justice and will deter any aggression contemplated by any aggressor, wherever or whenever it may be. Those States have consolidated the principles that constitute the bases of regional organizations and the United Nations, principles that affirm the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by the use of force as well as the independence, territorial sovereignty and international legitimacy of States.

As for those whose approach was not compatible with the principles of the Charter and international legitimacy, they have sent wrong signals to the aggressor, giving him the impression that he would be rewarded through this negative stance and giving him indications that he would reap the fruit of his

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

resort to force. Hence, they bear an abundant part of the responsibility because of their negative position in regard to the aggression.

Liberated Kuwait, its people and its political leadership will always preserve their Islamic and Arab traditions as a pattern of conduct. Kuwait will remain generous in its relations and will pursue its foreign policy in the manner outlined by His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, the Amir of Kuwait, in his statement on 27 September last to the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly. He said:

> "The Kuwait you knew will remain, as always, faithful to its principles, true to its system of values, close to its friends and faithful to its obligations and commitments."

His Highness also said:

> "We shall return to our Kuwait as we knew it, a land of safety and security, an oasis of peace, which embraces all Kuwaitis and foreigners living in our midst as brothers. Together, we shall join hands in concert and harmony to secure our development and progress. This will be a fulfilment of God's promise as rendered in the following verse:
>
> "Oh ye who believe!
> If ye will aid
> (The cause of) Allah,
> He will aid you,
> And plant your feet firmly." (The Holy Koran, XLVII:7)
>
> "And whose word can be truer than Allah's?" (A/45/PV.10, pp. 52 and 53-55)

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

The people of Kuwait, a tolerant people, will never forget, because everywhere in Kuwait there is evidence to remind us and remain deep in our minds and hearts. We ask for mercy for our martyrs, the martyrs of freedom, these martyrs from the friendly and fraternal States who fell on the cherished land of Kuwait so that on that land we may once again grow the flowers of freedom, stability and progress.

Finally, we praise and thank God, the Lord of all.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Kuwait for his kind words addressed to me.

I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Saudi Arabia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I invite the representative of Saudi Arabia to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a pleasure for me to congratulate you, Sir, a friend and a great Ambassador, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am sure that with your abilities you will conduct the business of the Council very successfully.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

I wish to thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe, for the skill and ability with which he guided the Council's business last month. We are grateful to him for that.

Kuwait has been liberated and legitimacy has returned to its rightful place. From the Council table I should like to express my heartfelt congratulations to His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, the Amir of the State of Kuwait, and the Government and people of brother Kuwait on its liberation from the injustice and occupation committed by the regime of a sister Arab country, which should have been a protector of Kuwait and not an aggressor against it.

We salute the State of Kuwait. We salute the Amir of Kuwait and its Government and people for their outstanding steadfastness. They have given us a rare example of solidarity and loyalty, the pillars of a strong nation and State.

I express my appreciation and gratitude also to the custodian of the two Holy Places, King Fahd bin Abdulaziz, who took the historic decision to face up to aggression, treachery and deceit and to defeat the aggressors. I express appreciation, too, to the Saudi Government and people.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

The territory of Saudi Arabia has become an extension of Kuwait, and we promise we will not sleep until Kuwait has been liberated. Hence the historic decision by Saudi Arabia to call on brothers and friends to help us defeat the aggression. The Iraqi régime and its President thought that the world was a jungle, and they used slogans to attack that decision out of ignorance. They bear responsibility for this plight.

On behalf of Saudi Arabia I should like to express thanks and deep appreciation to the fraternal and friendly countries that cooperated with us and sent their sons, as we sent ours, to the line of fire to support legitimacy, security and safety in a region that was the cradle of civilization and the birthplace of the Messengers and the Prophets.

I should be remiss if I did not express my deep thanks to this Council for the historic role it has played in formulating a strong international position that has given the United Nations and its Charter the historic place that the founders of the Organization intended them to have. We also wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his untiring efforts and his constructive role, and to express our confidence in him.

I wanted in this intervention to express our thanks at a time when we are at last laying the groundwork for international legitimacy in the Gulf region.

We thank God Almighty that evil has been defeated and that right has been victorious.

We thank all who supported us and stood by us, and those who cooperated with us. We will never forget this.

We call on God Almighty for the right to return to every place in our region, to Palestine and every other part of the world. We hope that the ending of this tragedy and this historic lesson will be the beginning of security, safety and stability for our region and the whole world.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for his kind words addressed to me.

I intend to adjourn the meeting now. With the concurrence of the members of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda will take place tomorrow, Sunday, 3 March 1991, at 4.30 p.m.

Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to announce that there will be a meeting of the Security Council committee established by resolution 661 (1990) concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait at 3 p.m. tomorrow, in Conference Room 7.

I should also like to announce that consultations of the whole of the Security Council will take place at 4 p.m. tomorrow.

The meeting rose at 12 midnight.